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The Welsh seaside resort: growth in population, trade and an emerging tourism industry in the nineteenth-century, c. 1841-1891.

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I

Seaside resorts became popular during the nineteenth-century across Britain and this included Wales. *Seaside Watering Places* were periodicals published by Upcott Gill throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the 1900-1 edition it listed over 249 seaside resorts, of which 57 were in Wales, showing that Wales was not an insignificant contributor to an emerging tourism industry (Borsay et al, 2008, p.92). The *Seaside Watering Places* periodicals are arguably demonstrative of the growing popularity in seaside holidays. It '[includes] the gayest and most quiet places' (Gill, 1885, Title page), and that it is more than a guidebook '[providing] particulars about each place' (Gill, 1885, Preface), allowing visitors to choose according to their requirements. This statement implies that there were different types of resorts which is a point that will be returned to in Chapter IV. It is reasonable to argue that the intended audience for *Seaside Watering Places* was for the middle to upper classes who could afford to holiday for several weeks at a time. Nigel Yates supports this in *Welsh Seaside Resorts: Growth, Decline and Survival* by stating that Aberystwyth had annual subscriptions to attend ten balls that would be held over the course of the warmer months (Yates, 2006, p.5). Despite the publication being primarily for middle to upper classes it appears to have been fairly representative of the number of seaside resorts in Wales during the nineteenth-century. In the three publications that were available online between 1885 and 1895, the number of Welsh resorts featured were 37, 38 and 51 respectively (Figure.1).

This dissertation will consider the growth of seaside resorts in the nineteenth-century and whether they should be studied as a collective Welsh urban space. The growth of seaside resorts is a result of many factors, however there are three primary factors which were crucial. These were; the rapid development of railway networks, over 1400 miles were built in Wales alone between 1840 and 1870 (Jenkins, 2008, p.175); the industrial revolution providing both an economy boost and new job opportunities for the masses (Jenkins, 2008, p.178); and lastly the emergence of bank holidays and wakes weeks such as the 1871 Bank Holiday Act (HCPP, 2018), which enabled working-classes to extend their day trips to the seaside to a few days. Given the predominance of seaside resorts in Wales, and the overall growth of the tourist economy in Britain today (Visit Britain, 2013) it is interesting that little has been done in the way of research of Welsh seaside resorts and their growth as both an industry and urban space during the nineteenth-century.

It is important to note that there is a general lack of research on urban history in Wales and it is widely considered one of the most under-researched areas of British urban studies (Borsay et al, 2005, p.1). The wider urban history of Wales, however, is beyond the scope for this research. Since the publication of the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2000), there has been a response by historians to research urban history in Wales. Neil Evans has produced a recent historiography entitled 'Rethinking Urban Wales' where he concludes that research needs to take a regional approach as opposed to urban history of towns in isolation (Evans, 2005, p. 129). He argues that it is time to accept cross-border influences and not see them as a negation of Welshness but as evidence that 'identity, urbanisation and culture is fluid' (Evans, 2005, p. 123).

In terms of specific writing on Welsh seaside resorts, Peter Borsay has written an historiography on this area of research. He highlights that despite the growth in Welsh historical writing seaside resorts barely make an appearance, even though visitors were recorded as visiting Aberystwyth as early as 1767 (Borsay, 2008, p. 92). Even more recent works such as Geraint

Jenkins *A Concise History of WALES* lack mention of seaside resorts other than as a link to railway growth and connecting centres (Jenkins, 2008, p. 177). Borsay generally agrees with Evans' view that cross-border research is important in understanding urban growth maintaining that industrialization was influential beyond its immediate geographical location. John Davies links this further by stating that new industries developed because of the creation of railway networks, although arguably there were more contributing factors at play (Borsay, 2008, p. 94). Borsay acknowledges significant work done in more recent years on Welsh resorts such as Louise Miskell's (Miskell, 1997) research on Swansea as a Welsh Metropolis. He points out, however, that work is being conducted on the large settlements which largely ignores comparison with other settlements, and usually completely ignores the smaller resorts (Borsay, 2008, p.94). Miskell's approach ignores the seaside resort as being part of a wider urban Welsh history including a general ignorance to tourism as an industry (Borsay, 2008, p. 96). Nigel Yates' paper entitled *Welsh Seaside Resorts: Growth, Decline and Survival* published in 2006 is cited as the most significant work on Welsh seaside resorts (Borsay, 2008, p. 94). Yates argues that there were two waves of resorts; the first resorts were frequented for their health benefits, the second wave whose primary function was entertainment (Yates, 2006, p. 3). Yates provides some comparative studies of Rhyl and Llandudno, Colwyn Bay and Penarth and lastly Porthcawl and Prestatyn. Although an incredibly useful paper, Yates primary focus was looking at who was investing money into the resorts and how that affected their development. His research is nonetheless useful and will be touched on briefly in Chapter IV.

Borsay concludes that lack of research in Welsh seaside resorts could be attributed by previous approaches on the subject that portrayed resorts as non-indigenous to Wales. Evans explains that the stimulus that created seaside resorts came from outside and therefore resorts are a tension between Welsh and English cultural influences (Evans, 2005, p.121). This statement perhaps implies that other areas were not influenced by the immigration of outsiders,

however, whether Welsh urban spaces overall were heterogenic during the nineteenth-century is outside the scope of this research.

One of the reasons for conducting research into nineteenth-century Welsh seaside resorts is, as evidenced, and because of the perception (raised by Borsay and Evans) that they are non-indigenous, a lack of research has been identified as a gap in Welsh urban history. Certainly, questions have been raised over the lack of research since the publication of the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (2000). Ideas of Welsh seaside resorts being essentially non-indigenous due to their culturally constructed environments (Borsay, 2008, p. 110) will be challenged, or at least be researched to establish whether they were indigenous and whether seaside resorts were emerging as a tourism industry and a factor of urban growth.

Chapter II will look at the emergence of Welsh seaside resorts during the nineteenth-century. This will consider resorts as opposed to towns to ensure that it is a fair sample to establish industry growth across Wales. The criteria for my sample will be taken from the *Seaside Watering Places* periodicals published by Upcott Gill in the latter part of the nineteenth-century with the last sample being taken from 1895, which includes 51 Welsh seaside resorts and therefore can be identified as being representative, even if not wholly complete, of the primary resorts during this period (Table 1). Population data using 'Find My Past' will be conducted across the same seaside resorts looking at urban growth between 1841 and 1891 (Figure 2 and 3) with a view of establishing percentage rate of growth over the period. The population data will be interrogated further by looking at the percentage of inhabitants over time that were (a) born in the same county and (b) Welsh born (Figure 4). This data will help to establish whether Welsh seaside resorts are indigenous or not, based on 'Welsh born' population, and thereby provide evidence as to whether they should be considered part of Welsh urban history, or whether they are just anglicized towns that sit outside Welsh urbanization and industry. Overall

the data will be analysed to ascertain if by using a comparative approach, that there is a trend in population figures across all Welsh seaside resorts.

Chapter III will compare the growth of trade across the Welsh seaside resorts using 'Historical Directories of England and Wales'. Firstly, it will look at the growth of shopkeepers and grocers to ascertain if there is a pattern between population and growth in trade (Figure 5). Secondly, it will analyse the growth in accommodation facilities to provide evidence of which resorts were accommodating visitors (Figure 5). By comparing trade growth with population numbers, it will provide an insight into whether seaside resorts were (a) actively developing in order to accommodate visitors, thereby a possible indicator of an emerging tourism industry, and (b) will indicate whether population numbers were rising with the growth in accommodation and trade indicating a growing economy and attractive job opportunities.

Chapter IV will consider what other facilities are on offer in each resort which are synonymous with both leisure and seaside resorts. Using a combination of Trade Directories, *Seaside Watering Places* periodicals and contemporary advertisements, data of the types of facilities synonymous with leisure and seaside resorts have been consolidated (Figure 6). Firstly, it will analyse which resorts were accessible by railway, providing evidence of how crucial railway connections were to the success of the Welsh seaside resorts. Secondly, it will compare facilities such as, bathing, promenades and entertainment across the 51 resorts to ascertain development in infrastructure to support an emerging tourism industry.

By providing an overview of Welsh seaside resorts using a comparative approach it is hoped that the research will show that these previously under-researched urban spaces are worthy of more research. It will highlight that Welsh seaside resorts did not develop in the same way, and that the contributing factors of population and accessibility are not enough to build a successful resort. Alongside these basic factors, there has to be a desire by

the community to invest in the development of the seaside resort and to welcome and provide for visitors.

II

J. K Walton's *The English Seaside Resort: a social history 1750-1914* ranked Welsh seaside resorts by population and therefore only featured: Aberystwyth, Tenby, Rhyl and Llandudno (Walton [1983] cited in Yates, 2006, p.1). Although these resorts are, arguably, prominent and important resorts for Wales they are not representative of the growth of resorts, types of resorts or the effect on population and communities as a whole. Perhaps one of the reasons why 'seaside resorts rarely make more than a fleeting appearance' in Welsh history writing (Borsay, 2008, p. 93) is because as a collective urban space they did not experience a sudden population increase in the same way that mining towns did. In fact, between 1841 and 1891 the percentage of the population of Wales living in the seaside resorts featured in *Seaside Watering Places* did not rise above 5% (Figure. 2) and therefore, gives the illusion of being stagnant. However, digging under the surface, it does demonstrate significant population increases in some resorts and apparent stagnation or decline in others. Out of the 51 seaside resorts identified in (Figure. 1), only 44 had consistent census data, and therefore the following resorts had to be removed from the population research due to time limitations: Port Talbot, Ferryside, Milford Haven, The Gwbert and Poppit, Carnarvon, Penmaenmawr and Colwyn Bay. In order to establish population patterns (Figure. 3) shows the percentage growth between 1841 and 1891. Immediately you can see that population growth varied between 8603.64% in Penarth and -44.78% in Horton and Porteynon. Perhaps what is most interesting is that out of the top ten seaside resorts for population growth (Table 1) only Llandudno and Rhyl have been prominent in historical writing, for example Gwenfair Parry's *'Queen of the Welsh Resorts': Tourism and the Welsh Language of Llandudno in the nineteenth century*, which shows a clear opportunity for more historical research into resorts like Penarth.

Table 1 – Top 10 resorts for population growth

Seaside Resorts	Total Pop change	% Change
<i>Penarth</i>	9464	8603.64%
<i>Solva</i>	1484	8244.44%
<i>Goodwick</i>	1714	1269.63%
<i>Pensarn</i>	1577	776.85%
<i>Harlech</i>	955	687.05%
<i>Little Haven and Broad Haven</i>	954	644.59%
<i>Llandudno</i>	6339	605.44%
<i>Rhyl</i>	5739	589.22%
<i>The Mumbles</i>	2292	493.97%
<i>Cardigan</i>	31169	393.50%

Data taken from Figure 3

Surprisingly the more well documented resorts such as Swansea and Aberystwyth do not appear in this list, and this is perhaps because their surge in population growth occurred in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to Yates they were already established as seaside resorts as part of the 'first wave' of resorts (Yates, 2006, p. 2). This shows that using population data as the only means of establishing growth of resorts is not necessarily an efficient indicator of the success of a resort. Borsay states that many Welsh resorts did not grow to achieve town status until the twentieth century, however that does not mean they did not achieve success or significant growth (Borsay, 2006, p. 113) during the nineteenth-century. The data populated confirms that although collectively Welsh seaside resorts did not experience a surge in population growth, it does show that 30 out of 44 did experience growth, and 22 of those experienced significant growth of more than 100% (Figure. 3). Further investigation is required to understand to what extent growth in Welsh seaside resorts was due to migration

Jenkins argues that as a result of the industrial revolution 'Wales was not only re-peopled [...] it also kept its own people' (Jenkins, 2007, p.184). Jenkins was largely discussing the effects of the mining industries in Wales and that the Welsh took advantage of the economic opportunities provided in their own country. This led to out-migration from Welsh communities to larger mining communities. According to Pryce and Drake this was an example of Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration' where 'new opportunities had to be sought elsewhere [...] leading to out-migration of the young' (Pryce and Drake, 1994, p. 7). This means that certainly some of the larger mining communities were a melting pot of both indigenous Welsh and non-indigenous people who migrated in from other communities with potentially different cultural and social ideologies (Roberts, 2004, p. 110). Borsay argues that Welsh seaside resorts are often overlooked because they are considered non-indigenous due to their culturally constructed environments (Borsay, 2008, p. 110). There does not appear to have been any extensive study to establish if Welsh resorts are non-indigenous and that aspect therefore warrants further investigation.

Out of the 44 seaside resorts researched, the population numbers were drilled down further to look at what percentage of the population was (a) born in the same county and (b) born in Wales. The census data does not allow you to drill down further than county. Although this is not a perfect sample to establish if people migrated in or out of the resorts, it will at least indicate if they stayed within the county. In terms of looking at the percentage of Welsh born, the data does not indicate whether the person was first, second generation or beyond. Establishing the level of this information was out of scope for this research, however, it will provide an indication of migration as outside families who would have migrated in would be flagged in the population data. For example, the percentage of Welsh born in Rhyl in 1841 was 54%, rising to 69% in 1891. The rise in population could be down to second and third generations of immigrant families being born, or it could indicate that Welsh people were migrating in from other counties to seek economic opportunity accounting for the county born figure to decrease to 44% (Table

2). The problem arises when deciding at what point the population of a resort becomes non-indigenous. It could be argued that it is at the point when indigenous people are outnumbered, however, some common sense has to take place and consider percentage of indigenous people alongside population figures. Aberayron remained indigenous with 98% of its population remaining Welsh born (Table 2), however over the same period its population declined by 9.8%, showing that although it was wholly indigenous it was not a resort in growth (Figure 3). Conversely, Llandudno experienced a significant population growth but saw a decline in both county and Welsh born percentages indicating that it attracted immigrants from other parts of Britain and beyond. Already we can see that different resorts not only experienced different rates in population growth, but also differing percentages of county and Welsh born population. This is arguably further evidence that the research into Welsh seaside resorts requires a more comparative historical approach to understand the circumstance for growth or decline in each area as opposed to being studied as a collective urban space.

In the interests of providing a small comparative review of Welsh seaside resorts, further investigation will be undertaken by comparing resorts that are at different ends of the spectrum in terms of growth and in/out migration. It is hoped that the initial analysis undertaken in this dissertation will encourage more in-depth research into the migration patterns of Welsh seaside resort and challenge the notion that they are non-indigenous.

Table 2 – Percentage of County and Welsh Born Population

	1841		1891		Rank from
Resort	County Born	Welsh Born	County Born	Welsh Born	Population Data
<i>Aberayron</i>	96%	96%	94%	98%	36
<i>Rhyl</i>	54%	54%	44%	69%	8

Taken from Figure 4

III

It has been established that by comparing population data of the 51 resorts identified in *Seaside Watering Places*, that resorts in Wales did not develop in the same way or at the same rate. With differing population growth and migration numbers it is clear that more factors than a seaside location require consideration. Yates states that there are two main factors that need to be present in order for a resort to develop. It needs to be easily accessible by railway and there has to be a willingness to invest in the resorts to attract visitors (Yates, 2006, p. 2). Trade directories have been analysed to understand the growth in traders between 1841 and 1889 in the 51 resorts. The term 'traders' includes shopkeepers and grocers as these are a constant for all growing urban spaces not just seaside resorts. It is important to note that other trades and services such as drapers, milliners and hairdressers were also increasing, however, it varied greatly from resort to resort and was outside the scope of research. Further analysis in this area could provide a view of the social classes of both residents and visitors. To ensure consistency the same 'Slater's' directories have been consulted with the exception of 1840-49 where 'Pigot & Cos' was consulted due to a Slater directory not being available. Although a comparison across different directories may provide a more thorough analysis of trade, time limitations did not permit extensive research. Arguably, the research presented is still representative of growth over time. Trade was measured in two ways; firstly, the growth in general trade such as shopkeepers and grocers, indicating a need to facilitate urban growth in terms of permanent residents; and secondly looking at growth of lodging houses, hotels, taverns and inns as an indicator of both accommodating visitors, and the popularity of the resort (Figure 5). Arguably both are evidence of a growing economy, development of seaside resorts and a growing tourism industry.

Out of the 51 resorts, 12 expanded their shop trade by more than 10 shops in the period between 1840 and 1849, with only 5 growing by more than 20 shops (Table 3). These were; Swansea, Aberystwyth, Carnarvon, Llandudno

and Holyhead, four of which experienced population growth of over 200 percent (Carnarvon population data was not available, see Chapter I) (Figure 3). Growth in shop trade analysed in conjunction with population data can demonstrate urban growth. However, it does not specifically indicate growth to accommodate visitors and arguably is not indicative of development of the seaside resort or tourism industry.

Table 3 – Shopkeepers and Grocers

	1840	1850	1860	1880
Resort				
Swansea	86	154	213	212
The Mumbles	4	8	13	17
Pembrey and Burry Port	2	12	8	21
St. Davids	4	7	8	15
Fishguard	13	20	32	23
New Quay	0	8	10	16
Aberystwyth	30	65	74	77
Aberdovey	7	5	11	18
Nevin	5	6	8	23
Carnarvon	62	63	78	92
Llanfairfechan	0	0	0	19
Penmaenmawr	1	4	5	13
Llandudno	3	15	15	23
Holyhead	24	71	80	86
Colwyn Bay	0	0	0	10
Rhyl	9	31	22	24

Data taken from Figure 5.

Tenby and Bangor both saw a decline in shops over the same period (Figure 5). During this time Tenby also saw a decline in population which supports the view that population growth dictates growth in trade. In contrast, Bangor saw significant population growth in the same period which is at odds with the decline in trade. On closer analysis Bangor's population peaked in 1861 and started to decline by 2000 people between 1861 and 1891 (Figure 2) which

indicates that trade is closely associated with population as opposed to an indicator to the success of a seaside resort. There are exceptions which could indicate trade supporting visitors. For example, Aberayron's shops increased by 8 over this period despite a total out-migration of 1200 people. At the other end of the spectrum - Rhyl only increased by 15 despite a growth of 5700 people (Figure 2).

The growth of shop traders can be linked to the population growth; however, it is not necessarily an indicator of the popularity of the seaside resort or growth as a tourist industry. Research needs to look at whether there was a type of business which could indicate a desire to accommodate and attract visitors. Miskell argued that Swansea's advantage as a key urban centre was due to it starting as a bathing resort, 'The development of key urban facilities' attracting visitors were a priority (Miskell, 2003, p.33). This largely agrees with Yate's view that the success of a seaside resort depended on the desire of the residents to invest in and develop the urban space (Yates, 2006, p.2). The growth in accommodation facilities in the 51 resorts is a reasonable starting point to establish which resorts were actively 'accommodating' visitors. Accommodation includes, inns, hotels and lodging houses which have been taken from the same trade directories (Figure 5).

Table 4 – Growth in accommodation facilities between 1840-89.

	Growth in Accommodation
Llanstephan	13
Aberdovey	14
Tenby	16
Fishguard	16
Milford Haven	17
Penarth	21
Criccieth	21
Towyn	22
Pwelli	23
New Quay	26
Cardigan	29
Carnarvon	29
Borth	39
Aberayron	41
Pensarn	53
Colwyn Bay	58
Beaumaris	59
Swansea	67
Barmouth	67
Port Talbot	69
Penmaenmawr	74
Aberystwyth	84
Llanfairfechan	85
Bangor	90
Rhyl	221
Llandudno	387

Data taken from Figure 6

More than 50% of the 51 resorts grew by more than 10 establishments providing accommodation between 1841 and 1891. Aberayron and Rhyl show significant development in accommodation facilities in their respective seaside resorts. Over the second half of the nineteenth-century Aberayron developed 41 establishments providing accommodation despite a fall in population numbers. Rhyl on the other hand developed an additional 221 establishments providing accommodation with an increase in population numbers. Arguably, the combination of population growth and growth in accommodation facilities indicates an investment in buildings and infrastructure. By 1887 Rhyl had developed into 'a popular and rapidly rising place' (Gill, 1885, p.253) with the benefits of its own train station and investment into its infrastructure creating an impressive urban seaside space (Image 1).

Image 1.

IMAGE REDACTED

National Library of Scotland, (n.d.) *National Library of Scotland* [Online]. Available at www.maps.nls.uk.

In contrast Aberayron did not have the benefit of its own train station until 1911 (Image 2). Until then its nearest station was 12 miles away, with coach services available to take visitors onto Aberayron (Gill, 1885, p.224). Described

as a 'small town and seaport' (Gill, 1885, p.224), Aberayron is not the same kind of seaside resort as Rhyl and could arguably not be classed as a seaside resort in a modern sense. It was however accommodating visitors and emerging to be more than just a seaport. In the 1895 edition of *Seaside Watering Places* it was newly described as '[a] thriving little town [...] rising in importance as a seaport, market town, and bathing-place.' (Gill, 1895, p.382). Indicating that this previously little-known resort was developing albeit at a slower pace than Rhyl.

Image 2.

IMAGE REDACTED

People's Collection Wales (n.d.) *People's Collection Wales* [Online].

It is clear that the Welsh seaside spaces were developing at different rates, and in different ways. Analysis of population, traders and accommodation facilities provide some indication of growth as both urban spaces and resorts that accommodate visitors. What it doesn't tell us is to what extent they developed their facilities to appeal to potential visitors and therefore provide evidence of an emerging tourist industry.

IV

Aside from accommodation, the types of facilities on offer allows us to think about what types of resorts they are. Perhaps the reason why there has been so much focus on resorts such as Llandudno and Swansea, is because they represent our modern notion of a resort and what it should look like and offer. Yates argues for two types of resorts, the first wave grew out of the health benefits associated with the seaside and the second wave grew out of entertainment (Yates, 2006, p.2). The analysis will show that some resorts developed and grew to be part of the entertainment wave and others did not. Arguably this indicates which communities were investing in their seaside resorts to attract and entertain visitors as opposed to relying on the health benefits providing the primary selling point (Yates, 2006, p.10). In turn they could provide evidence of an emerging tourism industry. Using a combination of the Trade Directories, descriptions in *Seaside Watering Places* and contemporary advertisements it is possible to map out the kinds of facilities that were becoming available in each seaside resort. Analysis of this information will indicate what kinds of seaside resorts they were developing into.

Trade directories although useful do not usually provide details of local pursuits such as sports or entertainment facilities available to visitors. It does however provide information of trade and services associated with seaside resorts such as bathing machine proprietors and eating-houses. It was therefore necessary to combine this data with information provided about each location using the 1885 and 1895 editions of *Seaside Watering Places*. These periodicals provide information about leisurely pursuits available to visitors but also crucially indicates how accessible the resort is, for example how far from the nearest railway station. Whilst compiling the data it was apparent that the intention of *Seaside Watering Places* was to promote resorts that focused more on pursuits suited to 'the better class of English people' (Gill, 1895, p.378). It spoke more favourably of places such as Borth who '[had] no pier-band, [minstrels] or noisy excursionists' (Gill, 1895, p.385). Although it covered

resorts such as Rhyl, its facilities were described as entertainment to be found in a 'fashionable resort' and does provide a detailed account as you might find in Barmouth, one of the 'most favourite watering places' (Gill, 1895, p.393). Despite the apparent preference for quiet resorts with leisurely walks and sports available, it does provide useful information on core facilities available which allows us to consider the types of resorts developing.

When we consider facilities, transportation needs to be a high consideration as according to Yates accessibility is one of the key factors of success for a seaside resort (Yates, 2006, p.2) and this is a view that is hard to dispute. Out of the 51 resorts, 24 did not have its own station by 1895. A lack of station did not necessarily mean a lack of transportation - plenty of resorts were close enough to a main station and could get a 'conveyance' to their destination. Aberayron had regular coaches and waggonettes that would collect passengers from Lampeter and Aberystwyth (Gill, 1895, p.382). The Mumbles or Oystermouth could be accessed by tramcar from Swansea (Gill, 1895, p.347). Other places had the benefit of cheap passenger steamers to bring visitors in from Liverpool to the North Wales resorts and Bristol to the South. If we consider railway transportation alongside growth in accommodation facilities, it is interesting to note that out of the 26 resorts that showed the most growth in accommodation facilities, 6 of them did not have their own train station (Figures 5 and 7). Beaumaris and Aberayron did not have their own stations yet had suitable transportation links with their nearest stations in Bangor and Lampeter to bring visitors in (Gill, 1895, p.412). Conversely, out of the 25 resorts that showed the least growth in accommodation facilities, 8 had their own train stations including Holyhead (Figure 6). Although railway transportation was arguably significant factor in growing tourism, it is not necessarily an indicator that a resort will grow and be successful, in which case other factors need to be considered.

One of the primary facilities you would expect a seaside resort to provide would be bathing. Out of the 51 resorts, 11 were not advised as suitable for bathing, for the most part this was due to beaches covered in shingle and rocks, or that it had been identified as dangerous due to the tides (Figure 6). The majority of the 11 resorts which included places such as Dale were identified as places where you could enjoy 'the prettiest walks' and take part in fishing and shooting (Gill, 1895, p. 362), and were highlighted as quiet resorts where you can enjoy the sea air. Although not seaside resorts in the modern sense of the word, the 11 resorts identified arguably fit into Yates phase one of resorts that emerged as purely one's with health benefits (Yates, 2006, p.2). In terms of leisure for these resorts, popular ways to pass the time appeared to be walks taking in the local flora and fauna. A handful offered fishing and the hire of boats, but for the most part that was as far as leisure facilities went. In terms of leisure facilities offered at all 51 resorts; fishing was the highest, being available at 34 resorts; boat hire available at 30 resorts; and sports facilities available at 25 resorts (Figure 6). Arguably, fishing and boats would be available anyway due to the seaside location and would not require specific development or investment of the resorts to offer it. Sports facilities were developed by the communities in some resorts for example; a skating rink in Tenby (Gill, 1895, p.360), golf links in Aberystwyth (Gill, 1895, p.384) and many resorts offering tennis and cricket facilities. It is clear that in order for a seaside resort to have an emerging tourist industry, it needed to offer more than just health benefits. To stand apart it needed investment into its development, facilities and infrastructure to attract visitors.

Yates argued that the second phase of seaside resorts were focused on entertainment (Yates, 2006, p.10) rather than health benefits. And arguably it was the communities of these seaside resorts that not only developed the infrastructure to accommodate visitors but were also starting to develop a thriving tourist industry. It is at this point that we start to move into a modern view of the seaside resort that can be seen across Britain not just in Wales. By 1895, of the 51 resorts, 16 were noted as having a constructed promenade or

esplanade. Only 9 were described as having a pier and of those only Llandudno, Rhyl, Carnarvon and Penarth had built a pavilion or Winter Garden (Figure 6). Just 14 resorts were noted as providing entertainment in the form of music or theatre. *Seaside Watering Places* liked to distinguish the types of entertainment provided by describing them as 'high class' or entertainment provided by a 'fashionable resort'. Rhyl, described as a socially inclusive resort (Yates, 2006, p.10) provided a wide variety of entertainment for its visitors (Image 3). Yates argues that Rhyl's success came from the fact that it was developed by the traders and merchants in the community who therefore collectively needed the resort to bring in tourists to recoup their money spent (Yates, 2006, p.10). Alternatively, Llandudno (developed by the Mostyn family) was a resort developed with the upper-class visitor in mind (Yates, 2006, p.10). The Improvement Commissioners were established to oversee the development of Llandudno and ensure its exclusivity, in 1864 they attempted to ban Punch and Judy shows (Yates, 2006, p.12). An article in the *North Wales Chronicle* from 1894 reported on 'Llandudno Pier Company's Grand Concerts' (Gale, n.d., [Online], providing a contrasting programme of entertainment to Rhyl. Tenby and Aberystwyth are noticeably absent from this list and could support Yates argument that for some there was an 'unwillingness to compete with newer resort towns' (Yates, 2006, p. 2), although Swansea's absence as a developing seaside resort could be due to its change in function from an early bathing resort to 'a provision of urban institutions' (Miskell, 1997, p. 33) such as the Scientific Institute. This is supported by Yates view that Swansea did not develop its tourist industry in favour of 'commercial and industrial development' (Yates, 2006, p.10). It is clear that only a small percentage of Welsh seaside resorts during the period 1841-91 actively developed their tourist industry beyond providing basic amenities and accommodation. Yates argues that a community needed to be willing to invest (Yates, 2006, p.2), however, they also needed the money to invest. Linking industry and resort development was not part of this research, however, it would be worthy of further investigation to develop on Harold Carter's work on

urban history looking at industries of towns in Wales and how they developed and invested in their urban spaces.

Image 3

IMAGE REDACTED

People's Collection Wales (n.d.) *People's Collection Wales* [Online].

Conclusion

This dissertation began by considering if Welsh seaside resorts could be researched as a collective urban space. Evans argued that a regional approach was required as opposed to researching towns in isolation (Evans, 2005, p.129). In part Evans was right, this research has highlighted that a collective research approach is not helpful. When considering population as a collective there appeared to be no growth in Welsh seaside resorts between 1841 and 1891, which could lead to a misconception that they are not worthy of historical study. However, by using a cross-regional and comparative approach it has provided evidence to both support and refute arguments made by historians to date. Evans and Borsay both hinted that lack of research into Welsh seaside resorts could be due to the perception that they are non-indigenous. It is clear from the population data that this was not always the case with over three quarters of the resorts boasting a Welsh born population of over 80 percent. John Davies placed railways as the most important factor for emerging industries, and although railways were significant and present in some of the largest Welsh seaside resorts (Llandudno, Aberystwyth, Rhyl), they did not guarantee an emerging tourist economy for every resort. Leisure facilities including bathing, sports and entertainment were high on the list to ensure a successful resort. Lastly, Yates argued that there needed to be a willingness in the community to invest and develop into the seaside resorts to create an emerging tourist industry. Evidence shows only a handful of resorts between 1841 and 1891 invested into developing their seaside resorts in order to attract visitors with their attractive promenades, piers and entertainment. There is evidence to suggest that for some communities a choice was made not to invest such as Tenby, for others more research would need to be undertaken to establish how much was down to desire to invest or lack of ability to invest. This initial research demonstrates the viability of Welsh seaside resorts to be included in Welsh urban research. Failure to understand the variations in how each resort developed and grew in population during the nineteenth-century have suppressed interest in undertaking research. One area that could be undertaken is to expand on Harold Carter's work on Welsh urban history by

considering the development of Welsh seaside resorts from existing industries such as fishing or shipping. However, any further research on the contribution that Welsh seaside resorts have made to Welsh urban history will serve to rectify omissions that have been made to date.

(Word Count: 6066)

Appendix

Figure 1

Welsh seaside resorts featured in the publications of *Seaside Watering Places* between 1885 and 1895.

	1885	1888	1895
<i>Penarth</i>	X	X	X
<i>Porthcawl</i>	X	X	X
<i>Port Talbot</i>			X
<i>Swansea</i>		X	X
<i>The Mumbles</i>	X	X	X
<i>Horton and Porteynon</i>			X
<i>Pembrey and Burry Port</i>	X	X	X
<i>Ferryside</i>	X	X	X
<i>Llanstephan</i>	X	X	X
<i>Pendine</i>	X	X	X
<i>Amroth</i>	X	X	X
<i>Saundersfoot</i>	X	X	X
<i>Tenby</i>	X	X	X
<i>Manorbier</i>	X	X	X
<i>Milford Haven</i>	X	X	X
<i>Dale</i>	X	X	X
<i>Little Haven and Broad Haven</i>	X	X	X
<i>Solva</i>		X	X
<i>St. Davids</i>	X	X	X
<i>Goodwick</i>	X	X	X
<i>Fishguard</i>	X	X	X
<i>Newport</i>	X	X	X
<i>The Gwbert and The Poppit</i>	X	X	X

Cardigan			X
Aberporth			X
Llangranog	X	X	X
New Quay	X	X	X
Aberayron	X	X	X
Aberystwyth	X	X	X
Borth			X
Aberdovey	X	X	X
Towyn	X	X	X
Barmouth	X	X	X
Harlech			X
Criccieth	X	X	X
Pwllheli	X		X
Nevin			X
Clynnog Fawr			X
Dinas Dindlle			X
Carnarvon	X		X
Bangor	X	X	X
Llanfairfechan	X	X	X
Penmaenmawr	X	X	X
Llandudno	X	X	X
Beaumaris	X	X	X
Holyhead	X	X	X
Bull Bay			X
Cemaes			X
Colwyn Bay	X	X	X
Persarn	X	X	X
Rhyl	X	X	X

Upcott Gill. L, (1878-95) *Seaside Watering Places*, Upcott Gill. L, London.

Figure 2

Population numbers taken from the Census between 1841 and 1891, accessed via *Find My Past*. There are known gaps in the data which is detailed on the *Find My Past* website.

	Population					
	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
Penarth	110	104	1317	2605	4956	9574
Porthcawl	0	336	69	11	0	979
Port Talbot	99	0	48	0	0	235
Swansea	38,613	50491	52594	70108	97004	139825
The Mumbles	464	595	670	1905	157	2756
Horton and Porteynon	364	0	297	0	229	201
Pembrey and Burry Port	2903	3274	3213	4805	5698	6305
Ferryside	0	333	0	16	20	0
Llanstephan	1253	1267	1229	1190	1217	1133
Pendine	203	181	182	170	169	165
Amroth	1919	3363	889	3102	3086	2970
Saundersfoot	0	782	103	271	0	1123
Tenby	13898	13571	12376	21155	10262	13049

Manorbier	691	698	717	694	631	587
Milford Haven	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dale	392	406	466	381	334	327
Little Haven and Broad Haven	148	0	93	85	0	1102
Solva	18	0	639	539	0	1502
St. Davids	2463	0	15626	2037	6290	2457
Goodwick	0	135	192	196	0	1849
Fishguard	8280	8868	2096	7437	7248	6755
Newport	6227	6126	1235	5433	5217	4629
The Gwbert and The Poppit	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cardigan	7921	20116	16742	17545	17613	39090
Aberporth	506	508	0	605	479	553
Llangranog	884	854	884	858	788	784
New Quay	0	1177	0	1417	0	1663
Aberayron	12861	13220	11681	13379	12535	11595
Aberystwyth	21318	23713	18870	27438	25531	21224
Borth	208	0	148	135	0	681
Aberdovey	461	1016	1215	1036	46	1310

Towyn	2907	2310	770	66	3357	3904
Barmouth	8192	7914	437	8294	8749	9027
Harlech	139	336	428	575	599	1094
Criccieth	5742	7632	770	5850	6868	6972
Pwllheli	21625	21739	17192	20959	22192	22278
Nevin	4912	5162	1824	4665	5199	4759
Clynnog Fawr	1789	1650	1635	1642	1615	1490
Dinas Dindlle	0	855	826	797	786	1771
Carnarvon	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bangor	16496	30562	39154	36339	38556	37928
Llanfairfechan	747	809	1200	1612	2038	2456
Penmaenmawr	0	0	0	0	0	949
Llandudno	1047	1130	2321	3082	4193	7386
Beaumaris	9338	7784	2626	12442	12808	12685
Holyhead	5360	11332	8318	6373	10089	19438
Bull Bay	44	0	0	36	61	106
Cemaes	236	373	166	872	293	1001
Colwyn Bay	0	0	0	0	0	2984

<i>Pensarn</i>	203	745	1047	1095	53	1780
<i>Rhyl</i>	974	0	2936	1323	2	6713
<i>Total</i>	201955	251467	225241	290575	316968	419144
<i>Welsh Population Total</i>	1045958	1163139	1286413	1412583	1604821	1788639
<i>% of Welsh Population residing in seaside resorts</i>	4%	4%	5%	4%	4%	3%

Find My Past (2018) *Find My Past* [Online]. Available at <https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

Figure 3

Table compiled using census data from *Find My Past*. Population change calculated by taking the difference between population in 1841 and 1891. Seaside resorts with an * did not have population data available for 1841, and so their '% change' was calculated using data between 1851 and 1891.

Seaside Resorts	Total Pop change	% Change
<i>Penarth</i>	9464	8603.64%
<i>Solva</i>	1484	8244.44% *
<i>Goodwick</i>	1714	1269.63%
<i>Pensarn</i>	1577	776.85%
<i>Harlech</i>	955	687.05%
<i>Little Haven and Broad Haven</i>	954	644.59%
<i>Llandudno</i>	6339	605.44%
<i>Rhyl</i>	5739	589.22%
<i>The Mumbles</i>	2292	493.97%
<i>Cardigan</i>	31169	393.50%
<i>Cemaes</i>	765	324.15%
<i>Holyhead</i>	14078	262.65% *
<i>Swansea</i>	101212	262.12%
<i>Llanfairfechan</i>	1709	228.78%
<i>Borth</i>	473	227.40%
<i>Porthcawl</i>	643	191.37%
<i>Aberdovey</i>	849	184.16%
<i>Bull Bay</i>	62	140.91%
<i>Bangor</i>	21432	129.92%
<i>Pembrey and Burry Port</i>	3402	117.19% *
<i>Dinas Dindlle</i>	916	107.13%
<i>Amroth</i>	1051	54.77%
<i>Saundersfoot</i>	341	43.61%
<i>New Quay</i>	486	41.29%
<i>Beaumaris</i>	3347	35.84%
<i>Towyn</i>	997	34.30%
<i>Criccieth</i>	1230	21.42% *

Barmouth	835	10.19%
Aberporth	47	9.29%
Pwllheli	653	3.02%
St. Davids	-6	-0.24%
Aberystwyth	-94	-0.44%
Nevin	-153	-3.11%
Tenby	-849	-6.11%
Llanstephan	-120	-9.58%
Aberayron	-1266	-9.84%
Llangranog	-100	-11.31%
Manorbier	-104	-15.05%
Dale	-65	-16.58%
Clynnog Fawr	-299	-16.71%
Fishguard	-1525	-18.42%
Pendine	-38	-18.72%
Newport	-1598	-25.66%
Horton and Porteynon	-163	-44.78%

*

Find My Past (2018) *Find My Past* [Online]. Available at

<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

Figure 4

Data compiled from *Find My Past*, using 'Birth Place' and 'Birth County' to limit data to residents born in same county and a second set of data to all residents born in Wales. 1891 data in blue indicates population that stayed within 10 percent of the population numbers in 1841. Data in green indicates population increase and red indicates a decrease of more than 10 percent. Population rank comes from the data from Figure 3.

Resort	1841		1891		Rank from
	County Born	Welsh Born	County Born	Welsh Born	Population Data
Aberayron	96%	96%	94%	98%	36
Fishguard	98%	98%	94%	98%	41
Nevin	97%	97%	94%	97%	33
Clynnog Fawr	97%	97%	93%	99%	40
Dinas Dindlle	96%	98%	93%	97%	21
Goodwick	90%	91%	93%	96%	3
Newport	97%	97%	92%	97%	43
Bull Bay	89%	89%	92%	95%	18
New Quay	90%	96%	91%	96%	24
Pwllheli	96%	96%	91%	96%	30
St. Davids	99%	99%	91%	96%	31
Llangranog	93%	93%	91%	96%	37
Horton and Porteynon	98%	98%	91%	93%	44
Aberporth	97%	97%	90%	97%	29
Llanstephan	95%	95%	89%	96%	35
Manorbier	93%	93%	89%	92%	38
Cemaes	96%	96%	88%	93%	11
Criccieth	96%	96%	87%	95%	27
Aberdovey	86%	62%	86%	89%	17
Pembrey and Burry Port	96%	96%	85%	95%	20

Borth	98%	98%	85%	91%	15
Pendine	93%	93%	84%	95%	42
Aberystwyth	92%	92%	84%	91%	32
Dale	94%	94%	84%	87%	39
Saundersfoot	89%	93%	81%	87%	23
Little Haven and Broad Haven	43%	43%	79%	82%	6
Beaumaris	89%	89%	77%	87%	25
Barmouth	92%	92%	75%	87%	28
The Mumbles	87%	87%	73%	80%	9
Holyhead	93%	93%	73%	79%	12
Llanfairfechan	93%	93%	70%	83%	14
Tenby	85%	85%	70%	77%	34
Swansea	78%	78%	67%	80%	13
Towyn	87%	87%	66%	91%	26
Cardigan	82%	85%	63%	93%	10
Harlech	86%	90%	58%	69%	5
Porthcawl	68%	73%	52%	60%	16
Bangor	80%	80%	51%	88%	19
Penarth	66%	66%	46%	56%	1
Rhyl	54%	54%	44%	69%	8

Find My Past (2018) *Find My Past* [Online]. Available at

<https://www.findmypast.co.uk>

[illegible]

Saundersfoot	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	2	4	6	0	8	5	5	0	8
Tenby	24	18	3	27	19	10	3	84	18	26	0	79	19	20	0	46
Manorbier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	3	4	0	3
Milford Haven	16	12	0	0	15	0	9	10	11	0	12	8	15	0	11	6
Dale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	2	0
Little Haven and Broad Haven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Solva	6	6	2	0	7	0	4	0	9	0	3	0	8	0	4	0
St. Davids	4	4	1	0	7	0	3	0	8	0	2	2	15	0	2	3
Goodwick	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0
Fishguard	13	23	0	0	20	0	12	3	32	0	24	0	23	0	16	0
Newport	13	0	12	0	7	0	6	0	12	0	17	2	9	0	17	0
The Gwbert and The Poppit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cardigan	13	30	0	0	11	0	11	3	17	0	26	4	16	0	25	4
Aberporth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3	0
Llangranog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Quay	0	0	0	0	8	0	3	2	10	0	14	2	16	0	15	11
Aberayron	6	3	0	1	13	0	8	7	17	0	24	4	14	0	26	16
Aberystwyth	30	10	3	79	65	2	0	70	74	49	0	113	77	47	0	166
Borth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	4	0	10	7	4	0	39
Aberdovey	7	0	0	14	5	0	0	11	11	0	0	36	18	0	0	28

Towyn	7	0	0	17	8	0	0	20	12	0	0	20	14	0	0	39
Barmouth	10	0	6	24	9	6	0	25	18	0	6	22	17	0	2	95
Harlech	5	0	3	0	6	3	0	0	4	4	0	0	7	7	0	7
Criccieth	4	1	2	0	4	1	3	0	9	3	0	1	5	4	0	23
Pwllheli	31	9	2	0	15	2	16	0	38	28	0	15	36	23	0	25
Nevin	5	2	0	0	6	0	2	0	8	0	6	0	23	7	0	0
Clynnog Fawr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Dinas Dindlle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carnarvon	62	33	0	3	63	0	40	4	78	48	0	18	92	45	0	32
Bangor	43	24	3	0	58	0	44	10	53	62	0	72	20	60	0	93
Llanfairfechan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	7	0	85
Penmaenmawr	1	2	0	0	4	0	2	0	5	5	0	1	13	5	0	74
Llandudno	3	3	0	0	15	0	4	5	15	8	0	7	23	16	0	387
Beaumaris	20	14	0	2	29	0	14	31	30	16	0	35	16	14	0	61
Holyhead	24	9	0	1	71	0	29	5	80	54	0	8	86	49	0	6
Bull Bay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cemaes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Colwyn Bay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	58
Pensarn	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3	0	4	0	0	53
Rhyl	9	5	4	0	31	0	16	5	22	21	0	6	24	19	0	225

University of Leicester, (n.d.) 'Historical Directories of England and Wales' *Special Collections Online* [Online]. Available at <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16445coll4>

Figure 6

Data compiled from four trade directories covering 1840-89 and extracting details regarding facilities from the 1885 and 1895 editions of *Seaside Watering Places*. A green x means the facility was recorded as available in 1895 but not stated as available prior to that date in the sources used.

	Bathing	Baths/Machines	Fishing	Sports	Entertainment (Music/Theatre)	Eating Houses	Railway	Boats	Promenade	Pier	Historical Sites
Penarth	XX	x		XX	XX	x	XX	XX	x	x	
Porthcawl	XX			XX		x	XX	XX			
Port Talbot					x	XX	x				
Swansea	XX			x	x	XX	x		x	x	x
The Mumbles	XX		x			XX					
Horton and Porteynon	x							x			
Pembrey and Burry Port	XX		XX	x			XX	XX			x
Ferryside	XX		XX	x			XX	XX			
Llanstephan	XX							XX			

	Bathing	Baths/Machines	Fishing	Sports	Entertainment (Music/Theatre)	Eating Houses	Railway	Boats	Promenade	Pier	Historical Sites
<i>Pendine</i>	XX		X	X							
<i>Amroth</i>	XX		XX								X
<i>Saundersfoot</i>	XX		XX				XX	X			
<i>Tenby</i>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX		XX	XX	XX		
<i>Manorbier</i>							XX				X
<i>Milford Haven</i>			XX	XX			XX	XX	XX		XX
<i>Dale</i>								XX			
<i>Little Haven and Broad Haven</i>	XX		XX					X	X		
<i>Solva</i>			X								
<i>St. Davids</i>	XX		XX	XX							XX
<i>Goodwick</i>	XX		X					X			
<i>Fishguard</i>	X		XX	X				XX			X
<i>Newport</i>	XX		XX	XX				XX	X		X
<i>The Gwbert and The Poppit</i>	X		X					X			

	Bathing	Baths/Machines	Fishing	Sports	Entertainment (Music/Theatre)	Eating Houses	Railway	Boats	Promenade	Pier	Historical Sites
<i>Cardigan</i>							X				
<i>Aberporth</i>	X										
<i>Llangranog</i>	XX										
<i>New Quay</i>			X					X		XX	
<i>Aberayron</i>	XX		XX	XX	X			X			XX
<i>Aberystwyth</i>	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	X		X	XX
<i>Borth</i>	XX	XX									
<i>Aberdovey</i>	XX	XX	XX	X			XX	XX	X		
<i>Towyn</i>	XX	XX	XX				XX		X		
<i>Barmouth</i>	XX	X	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX		
<i>Harlech</i>	X			X			X				X
<i>Criccieth</i>	XX	X	XX	XX			XX	X	XX		XX
<i>Pwllheli</i>	XX		XX	X		XX	XX	XX	XX		
<i>Nevin</i>	X		X					X			
<i>Clynnog Fawr</i>			X								X
<i>Dinas Dindlle</i>			X	X							X

	Bathing	Baths/Machines	Fishing	Sports	Entertainment (Music/Theatre)	Eating Houses	Railway	Boats	Promenade	Pier	Historical Sites
Carnarvon	XX		XX	X	XX	XX	XX	XX			XX
Bangor			X		XX	XX	XX	X			
Llanfairfechan	XX	XX	X				XX	X	XX	XX	XX
Penmaenmawr	XX	XX					XX		X		
Llandudno	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	XX	XX	X	XX	XX	
Beaumaris	XX	XX	X	XX				XX			XX
Holyhead	XX		XX		XX	XX	XX	XX	X	X	X
Bull Bay											
Cemaes	X										
Colwyn Bay	XX	XX	X	X	X		XX			X	XX
Pensarn	XX	XX		XX	X		X				X
Rhyl	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX

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